

THE LIBERATOR:
PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY,
AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, NO. 25 CORNHILL.

Henry W. Williams, General Agent:

To whom all remittances are to be made, and
advertisements addressed, relating to the pecuniary con-
cerns of the paper.

TERMS.—\$250 per annum, payable in ad-
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Five copies will be sent to one address for ten
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VOL. XIV.—NO. 43.

SELECTIONS.

From the National A. S. Standard.

Mr. Leavitt and Mr. Birney.

A few weeks since, I published an article in the Standard, on the pretensions of Mr. Birney to the cause of abolitionists, which has had, and is still having, an extensive circulation. That article contained serious charges against Mr. Birney,—accusing his character as an abolitionist, and as an honest man. It consisted of a dispassionate statement of facts, *none of which have ever been specifically contradicted*, showing that Mr. Birney had done his best to destroy the anti-slavery movement, and how he had assisted in making away with the Emancipator, and the rest of the property of the American Society, which had been entrusted to his care, and that of his fellow-citizens men, under false pretenses. The share of Mr. Leavitt, in these transactions, who was then, and still continues the editor of the Emancipator, and who was also a member of the committee which began the game by which the organ of their constituents has been juggedled, from their possession into that of Mr. Leavitt, under false pretenses and without consideration, was also incidentally mentioned. The following is all the notice Mr. Leavitt has judged it best to take of the circumstance:

The GREAT TORPEDO. Some months ago, the Project was all over the country circulated a notice that Edmund Quincy, then a member of Presidents' Cabinet, and of the Hero Jewish Quincy, the chief marts of the Whig party in Boston, was about to issue, at his convenience, a document that would show that Mr. Birney was, to abolitionists, the most execrable of the three candidates for the Presidency, according to the naturalization laws of Congress. He was the son of George Erving, a man, who by an act of the legislature of Massachusetts, in September, 1787, had been, by name, declared an enemy to the United States of America—who had deserted his country and joined her enemies, in the time of her distress—who, in the event of his returning ever to the Commonwealth, should be arrested and sent out of the country, and in the event of a second return, should suffer death, without the benefit of clergy. He was a type refugee, and on leaving his country, had taken his infant son with him to England, where he resided during the whole revolutionary war, and ever after, and died. He never returned to this country, and never had any stake or interest in her welfare. The son was educated in England—but in the course of the war, grew up to manhood; after the peace, came back to Boston; by the influence of respectable family connexions, was naturalized a citizen of Massachusetts, and thereby became a citizen of the United States. He has never resided, nor intended to reside in this country; nor ever visited, or referred to his public as the Emancipator, whom he scrupulously kept, as far as he could, knowledge of what had been said on the other side. Mr. Leavitt's opportunities of knowing what was the opinion of the business public respecting these transactions, from the nature of the case, could only be of the best description. I have the very best reasons for knowing that those charges were not invented by me, but were generally as "malicious" and as less as "frivolous."

BELA MARSH,
No. 25 Cornhill.

TRACK!

Sung by the Hunt-
ing piano forte.

BEILA MARSH,
No. 25 Cornhill.

ICAN JOURNAL,

HEALTH.

THE AMERICAN WA-
TER OF HEALTH,
and Philadelphia,
comparatively a new
place, as a distinct
residential dis-
covery of Austrian Sil-
ver, is now fast gain-
ing a great celebrity
with great effect than
any other, never, of
any kind other than
water, some of whom
have, of late, been
sent to Europe generally as "malicious," and
as less as "frivolous."

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The remedy is found
for evil, according
to positive good, and
can be had.

It is no information as to
the object of the Jour-
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the different states
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in the editorial dis-
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leads me to support it, if I innocently can. This is the whole length of my duty to Government. From the necessity of the case, and that constitution of things which God has ordained, it follows that in any specified district, the majority must rule—hence results the duty of the minority to submit. But we must carefully preserve the distinction between *submission* and *obedience*—between *submission* and *sup-er-est*. If the majority set up an immoral Government, to obey those laws which seem to me good, because they command me to all the penalties which my disobedience of the rest brings on me. This is alike the dictated of common sense, and the command of Christianity. And it must be true doctrine, since any other obliges me to obey the majority if they command me to commit murder, a rule which even the *tory* Blackstone has denied. For me to do anything I deem wrong, is the same, in quality, as to commit murder.

My friend thinks our spirit "pharisaical." "Shall we," "weak and sinful men," he says, "perhaps even more sinful than the slaveholder, cry out, *No Union with Slaveholders!*" Such a course is, in his opinion, wanting in brotherly kindness. Were I not fully persuaded of the entire sincerity of my friend, I should pass this suggestion unnoticed. But surely he mistakes our position entirely. Because we refuse to aid a wrong-doer in his sin, by no means proclaim, or assume, that we think our *whole character* better than his. It is neither pharisaical to have opinions, nor presumptions, to guide our lives by them. If I have joined with others in doing wrong, it is either presumptuous or unkind, when my eyes are opened, to refuse to go any further with them in their career of guilt? Does love to the thief require me to help him in stealing? Yet this is all we refuse to do. We will extend to the slaveholder all the courtesy he will allow. If he is hungry, we will feed him; if he is in want, both hands shall be stretched out for his aid. We will give him full credit for all the good that he does, and our deep sympathy in all the temptations under whose strength he falls. But to help him in his sin, to remain partners with him in the slave-trade, is more than he has a right to ask. He would be a *strange preacher* who should set out to reform his circle by joining in all their sins! It is a principle similar to that which the *tippy Duke* of Norfolk acted on, when seeing a drunken friend in the gutter, he cried out, "My dear fellow, I can't help you out, but I'll do better, I'll lie down by your side."

Next follow his criticisms on the inconsistencies of non-voters, in petitioning, suing, holding stocks, and paying taxes. This is what logicians call a *reductio ad absurdum*: an attempt to prove our principles unsound by showing that a fairly carried out leads to an absurdity. Now, I assert that *genuine* all Mr. Bowditch asks, is not has not added us with any absurdity at all. It is perfectly possible to live without petitioning, suing, or holding stocks. Thousands in this country have lived, died, and been buried, without doing either. And does it load us with any absurdity to prove that we shall be obliged to do from principle, what the majority of our fellow-citizens do from choice? We lawyers may think it is an absurdity to say a man can't sue, for like the apostle at Ephesus, it touches our "craft"; but that don't go far to prove it. Then, as to taxes, doubtless many cases might be imagined, when even my friend would allow it would be difficult to resist the slight taxation, did Christianity allow it, with "war to the hilt"? If such cases may ever arise, why may not this be one? But I refer to my former letter, where, I think, I have shown that we can consistently do all these things.

My friend thinks that my distinction in relation to slaves, that one may acknowledge the power of a ruler without at the same time acknowledging the *rightfulness* of that power, is unsound, and he challenges me to produce legal authority to the point. Did he never hear why an English subject may swear allegiance to an usurper, and yet not be guilty of treason to the true king? Because he may innocently acknowledge the *king de facto* (the king in *deed*), without assuming him to be the *king de jure* (king by *right*). I do not say that I approve of the length to which they carried it, but the distinction itself is as old as the time of Edward the First. If my friend, fresh from the books, is not familiar with it, I commend him to a reperusal of his Blackstone. The principle is equally applicable to slaves. It has been universally acted on and allowed. The Catholic who shrank from acknowledging the heretical government of England, always, I believe, sued in her

As I view it at present, I could not hold government stock, but I see no difficulty as to bank and other stocks. What are they? A hundred men put their funds together to trust or otherwise stop in and forbids it, unless they accept its nomination. In doing so, they do not acknowledge its right to exact such a nomination. The general bids us yield up a coat, if it be taken from us. Does that allow the robber's right? Suppose, then, in some calm hour, we ask it of him again, and with his permission receive it, does that not acknowledge that he had the right to retain it? The cases are parallel.

Mr. Bowditch bids me leave the country. Why? Because, he says, "Society has the right to prescribe the terms, upon the express or implied agreement to comply with which a person may reside within its limits." This principle I utterly deny. Where did he find it? All that *Society* has a right to demand is peaceful submission to its *exactions*:—consent they have neither the power nor the right to exact to imply. Twenty men live on a lone island.—Nineteen set up a government and say, every man who lives there shall worship idols. The twentieth submits to all their laws, but refuses to commit idolatry. Have they the right to say, "Do so, or quit?" or, to say, "If you stay, we will consider you as implicitly worshipping idols?" Doubtless they have the power, but the majority have no rights, except those which justice sanctions. Will my friend show me the justice of his principle? I was born here. I ask no man's permission to remain. All that any man or body of men have a right to infer from my staying here, is that, in doing this *innocent act*, I think that, on the whole, I am effecting more good than harm. My friend says, I cannot find this right laid down in the books. That will not trouble me. Some old play has a character in it, who never ties his neckcloth without a warrant from Mr. Justice Overdo. I claim no relationship to that very scrupulous individual.

I was glad to see that Mr. Bowditch nowhere touches that chord, so much harped upon by our opponents, that we are losing our influence, and becoming less useful. Some may honestly fear such a result. But with most, I suspect *sarrant selfishness* will be seen peeping out from under this scanty covering of a pretended longing to be very useful. It reminds me of the reply of a bed-ridden old lady, ninety-nine years old, to a minister who asked her what she should pray for. "Ask," said she, "that I may be spared while I am useful."

Allow me, in conclusion, to request our opponents to keep distinctly in view the precise point in debate. This is not whether Massachusetts can rightfully trade and make treaties with South Carolina, although she knows that such a course will result in strengthening a wrong done. Such are most of the cases which they consider parallel to ours, and for permitting which they charge us with inconsistency. But the question really is, whether Massachusetts can join hands and strength with South Carolina, for the express and avowed purpose of sustaining slavery. This she does in the Constitution. For who *awaits* to support an instrument of twelve clauses, *awaits* to support one as well as another,—and though one only be immoral, still he *awaits* to do an immoral act. Now, my conviction is, "which fire will not burn off me," that to return fugitive slaves is a sin—to promise so to do, and not to do it, is, if possible, baser still; and that any conjunction of circumstances which makes either necessary, is of the Devil, and not of God.

Yours truly,

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Nahant, Sept. 26, 1844.
The following panegyric, from the Pennsylvania Freeman, is richly merited, we think:

Wendell Phillips, in the last Standard, takes his ground single handed against three of his most zealous and ingenious opponents—White, Earle and Bowditch; and most triumphantly does he repel their assaults. No wonder, however—for he is in a position in which one can "chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." Abolitionists who are subscribers to the Standard should borrow a copy of the last number, and read his masterly and able article. It is beautiful to see how unmoved he stands, and with what ease and grace he varies every thrust and blow. One is reminded of Fitz James in the combat:

His back against a rock he bore,

And firmly pinched his foot before—

"Come one, come all—this rock shall fly

From its firm base as soon as I."

The Annexation of Texas.

Extracts from Gov. Slade's Message to the Legislature of Vermont:

There is another question of great and over-helming interest, which recent events have forced upon our attention. By a sudden and unexpected turn of party policy, we are called upon to decide the momentous question, whether a foreign nation shall be annexed to, and become part of this confederacy. As this is a question in which the States, as members of the Union, have a special interest, and upon which they may, and ought, immediately, to express their opinions, through their respective legislatures, it will not be deemed, in any sense, foreign to my duty, to bring the subject to your notice, and urge upon your special attention.

Vermont came into a Union whose bond was a written Constitution, granting to its government certain specified powers. No question in regard to the powers conferred by that Constitution, can be of greater importance than that which relates to the membership of the confederacy. The extent to which new members may be admitted, involves a question vital to the Union. A violation of the Constitution on this point reaches far beyond a question of mere administration of the government. It strikes at the existence of the government itself. An unauthorized admission of a new State, is nothing less than an attempt to make a new confederacy. This cannot, of course, be done, without a destruction of the old—without an exercise of power by the existing government, equivalent to suicide.

Such is the proposition for the annexation of Texas to this Union—involving a question of much more importance than whether the territory to be added shall form one or five States, or whether they shall be all or all free States, or equally divided between these opposite and irreconcileable elements of power. It is a question whether, by act of arbitrary power, Vermont shall be forced, without her consent, into a federal union with the State or States, not admisible by the compact into which she entered. It is also a question of a majority of the members of an ordinary partnership were to attempt to force a member into the concern without the common consent—compelling the dissatisfied member or members to subject the whole business and destiny of the establishment to the hazard of a connection with a new partner—it may be, bankrupt in fortune and character, or trained to habits of business, or possessing infirmities of constitution, rendering the connexion valueless, or worse than valueless. The Whig party is among the greatest that can occupy the mind of the nation. The true position in which it was left by the Constitution—the expectation of the country in regard to its then future condition—the history of its subsequent encroachments, and its irreconcileable hostility to freedom, are matters which must, and will occupy the public attention. The world is moving on the subject; and the progress which has been made within the last quarter of a century, in the work of human emancipation, has materially changed the aspect of the whole question. To attempt to put down abolition is vain. The statesmen of this nation must look to the question in the face. It is not of mere philanthropy, but has other bearings. Slavery is an element of political power; and how long, and to what extent, it shall be suffered to control the policy and mould the destiny of this nation, is a question whose consideration cannot be postponed indefinitely.

What direction shall be given to the strong and growing feeling on this subject, is among the most important questions that can occupy the minds of our statesmen. There are evidently great dangers to be encountered. If the purpose of the fathers had been carried out, and slaves had gradually yielded and given place to the institutions of freedom, this crisis would not have been thrown upon the country. But the contrary policy has prevailed. Slavery has planted itself in new fields—has struggled for ascendancy, and maintained it; and has finally come to take the ground that it must be fostered, and cherished, and extended, so as to be able to maintain its balance, as an element of power in the Union. What is to be the character and issue of the conflict which the growing spirit of freedom is to have with slavery, thus struggling to maintain its ascendancy, is a question of fearful interest. The pretensions and encroachments of the slave power, and especially the attempt to strengthen it by the annexation of Texas, have contributed to give a character of deep and desperate earnestness to abolition movements, threatening to draw every other question of morals and politics within their vortex.

The true ground is not upon either of these extremes. But neither is it the ground of indifference. That will work no deliverance either from the evils of slavery, or of an over-heated and headlong zeal for its abolition. No attempt should be made to suppress the mighty impulses of this age towards universal emancipation. None will be successful. Rather should it be our effort to guide them rightly and safely.

Cold apathy and bitter zeal should alike give place to a calm, steady, patient, persevering effort to reach the seat of evil—to overcome in the South the fear of change, the force of habit, the reluctance to labor, the love of dominion, and the tenacity of supposed, but mistaken interest, while truth shall be made to exert its appropriate power in quickening the conscience to a just sense of the wrongs of slavery.

And along with all this there must, and will, necessarily be political action in some form, gradually changing the character of State and national legislation, while no great interest of the country shall be left forgotten, uncared for, or neglected.

The position of the North, and the natural jealousy of its efforts in this cause, impose on it the duty of moderation and forbearance; while the claims of humanity, and a just respect for its own rights, demand that it steadily resist the encroachments *against* the wrongs, and labor, in all appropriate ways, to rid the country of the evils of slavery.

a moment, any more than we would debate the question of submission to a foreign yoke.

But why, after all, should annexation be desired by any body? What conceivable motive is there for it, having reference to the good of the whole country? How is it to benefit the whole Union? Who can assure us, indeed, of the capacity of our Union to resist the strong tendencies to dissolution, of such an acquisition? What wise and prudent statesman will be willing to hazard such an experiment upon this Union? Wiser and better is it to endeavor to strengthen and consolidate it upon its present basis—to get rid, as soon as it can be properly and rightfully done, of every thing that will endanger it, and especially of that greatest of all sources of danger, the institution of slavery—and thus having laid aside every weight, to run the race of freedom and philanthropy and solid glory which is set before us.

The relation of Slavery to the confederacy, the evident danger from the existence of such an element in our Union, and the increasing execration in regard to it, suggest a few additional remarks upon that subject.

The question of slavery is among the greatest that can occupy the mind of the nation. The true position in which it was left by the Constitution—the expectation of the country in regard to its then future condition—the history of its subsequent encroachments, and its irreconcileable hostility to freedom, are matters which must, and will occupy the public attention. The world is moving on the subject; and the progress which has been made within the last quarter of a century, in the work of human emancipation, has materially changed the aspect of the whole question.

We perceive that J. G. Birney, the Abolitionist

From the New-York Tribune.

Polk and Birney.

The *Spirit of the Times*, the most widely circulated and influential Loco-Foco paper in Philadelphia, has the following:

"We perceive that J. G. Birney, the Abolitionist candidate, has openly avowed his preference for Mr. Polk over Mr. Clay, at which the Federal-Whig papers seem exceedingly wrathful. But is it not natural? Is not the Democratic Party opposed as a mass, to human Slavery? Is there a true Democrat in Pennsylvania who is not opposed to the traffic in human flesh and blood? Are not the principles of the Democratic Party of that peculiar character which recognizes 'all men' as 'created free and equal,' and which, looking with an eye of sorrow on an institution imposed on us by Great Britain herself, would fain free from their horrid manacles all who are born in the image of their Maker, and rid this land of liberty of the last vestige of despotism? Is there a man of honest feelings who would not rejoice to see our country freed from this incubus upon her humanity, and witness the colored race within our borders made happy in the possession of at least those human and inalienable privileges, which are theirs by right of Nature and of God? We think not. 'Freedom for the bound' is the cry of every real Democratic heart. 'Liberty' is their motto, and 'Sons of Liberty' is an appropriate title of the Democratic party. Is it then strange that Mr. Birney should prefer Mr. Polk to Mr. Clay, or that the Liberty party generally should lean in favor of the Democratic candidate?

W.M. LLOYD GARRISON.

Boston, Oct 25, 1844.

Birney Meeting at the Tremont Temple.

On Thursday evening of last week, a Liberty party meeting was held at the Tremont Temple, in consequence of the visit of JAMES G. BIRNEY, (styled by his partner, Joshua Leavitt, in the dishonest transfer of the Emancipator, 'THE JUST,' 'THE MAN,' 'Our Honored Candidate,' &c.) to this city. It was the first meeting of the kind I ever attended; and I was induced to attend, in this instance, solely from the fact that Mr. Birney was to address the assembly.

He stands accused, by the American Anti-Slavery Society, of some very grave charges, affecting his honor as a man, and his character as an abolitionist; and I feel desirous to know whether he would dare to look them in the face, and, if so, what he could say in self-defence. But he very prudently made no allusion to them during his speech, though he could occupy an hour in noticing the political attacks upon him, for having received a democratic nomination to the legislature of Michigan, in Saginaw county.

As the present is a period of intense political excitement—as special efforts were made to secure a large meeting on Mr. Birney's account—so the name of the meeting alluded to here created a good deal of stir in this region, as well as elsewhere—I expected to see a large concourse of people; but the house was comparatively thin, not more than two thirds full, and of this number, many had evidently come to gratify their curiosity.

Mr. S. P. Andrews made the opening speech, and occupied his hour chiefly in attacking the Whig party, because (as he said) the position of the Democratic party was one of such open, palpable, 'unscrupulous rascality,' as to require no special attention.

His remarks elicited frequent applause, and were heard without much interruption, until he asserted that no man, whether living or dead, had done so much to extend and perpetuate slavery in this country as Henry Clay—a declaration which I have made on various occasions, and which it useless for any man to deny. This led some one in the audience, probably a Whig, to exclaim, 'Not true! not true!'—which was followed by a strong burst of applause from the Whigs present. As soon as he recollect the language used by Mr. Clay; and it seemed to me quite natural that a sensitive Whig should desire the letters to be read, though (in view of the length and numbers of Mr. C's epistles) if his request had been complied with, no more speeches or remarks could have been made that evening! The subsequent conduct of Mr. Crane was certainly most outrageous.

Mr. Birney soon afterwards finished his remarks, and was followed by a few words by John Pierpont, who excused himself from making a speech, in order that he might introduce to the assembly a somewhat recent convert to the Liberty party, in the person of Judge Foote, of Chataqua county, N. Y. Judge F. exhibited much shrewdness, wit, humor and good sense in his remarks, as well as he could recollect the language used by Mr. Clay; and it seemed to me quite natural that a sensitive Whig should desire the letters to be read, though (in view of the length and numbers of Mr. C's epistles) if his request had been complied with, no more speeches or remarks could have been made that evening! The subsequent conduct of Mr. Crane was certainly most outrageous.

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POETRY.

SONG FOR THE PEOPLE.

BY GEORGE DONALD.

AIR—"Let's set the bower of Robin Hood.

I love to sing of liberty—I love the true and free,
Though steeped to the very lips in poverty they be;
I love to sing of freedom, 'twas the earliest strain I
sing,

And freedom's song shall be the last that trembles on
my tongue.

Let rank and riches, pride and power, against me fret
and frown,

I laugh at all their feeble aims to break my spirit
down;

Let friends and fortune me forsake, or chains my body
bind,

Of this I cannot be bereft—the freedom of my mind!

Hail, Liberty! thou first and best of earthly blessings
given,

To elevate the human race;—thou dearest gift of
heaven!

Inspire of the truly good, the noble, and the great,

The terror of the tyrant, and the slavish coward's
hate!

In evil days, my native land was thrall'd by wicked
men,

But my fathers sought the mountain side, the cave and
heathy glen,

And boldly raised their altars to freedom and to God,

And kindled up those fires that now are spreading fast
abroad.

A little while, and there shall be, on every mountain
top,

A flag of triumph waving to confirm the patriot's
hope;

The moral war is raging now, and Reason leads the
fight,

That soon must terminate in life, and liberty, and
light!

On, then, ye millions, in the strife! be weary not,
nor faint!

Why should you idly waste your time in impotent
complaint?

The spoilers tremble! onward, then! your rights as
men demand,

And the Charter of your freedom soon shall flourish
in your land.

I love to sing of Liberty—I love the true and free,
Though steeped to the very lips in poverty they be;

I love to sing of freedom, 'twas the earliest strain I
sing,

And freedom's song shall be the last that falters on
my tongue.

From the Philadelphia Dollar Newspaper.

THE SLAVE OF GUADALOUE.

BY THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH.

On Pointe-a-Pitre, at Guadalupe,

The sun in wrath went down;

The clouds, they gathered in a troupe,

And formed above the town.

Shrieks rose upon the blinding air,

And wail went wildly round;

Shook lofty trees and blossoms fair,

And quaked the solid ground.

The ocean bubbled in agony,

The waves were lashed and driven;

The fiends below tossed to and fro,

Till earth above was riven.

Through falling roofs and crumbling stone,

Upon that dread day,

A wreath whose color 'twas shame to own,

Pursued his God-sent way.

His steps were checked—he heard a shriek,

A winged shriek and prayer,

That told of Hope, though faint and weak,

New-born from crushed despair.

A weak and wounded man exclaimed,

"See where my brother lies,

In ruins buried, bruised and maimed—

Help! bondman, he dies!"

How! heed ye not?—see, here I hold

Man's key to happiness;

'Tis yours—this bright and ruddy gold—

But sid in his stress."

The white man's gold was bright to see,

Yet spurned he back the clod—

Nothing for money to-day," said he,

"But all for the love of God."

Oh! speech sublime for man to make,

Far let the words be told;

He'd risk his life for God's own sake,

But not for love of gold.

Though dark his skin, his heart was white,

And those who sate above,

Shall see his spirit robed in light,

Before the throne of Love.

How thrills my inner soul to know,

A slave—all all abhorred—

Though bond in view of all below,

Is free in CHRIST our Lord!

THE HAPPY MIND.

BY ELIZA COOK.

Out upon the calf, I say,

Who turns his grumbling head away;

And quarrels with his feed of hay,

Because it is not clover.

Give to me the happy mind,

That will ever seek and find

Something fair and something kind

All the wide world over.

'Tis passing good to have an eye

That always manages to spy

Some star to bear it company;

Though planets may be hidden;

And Mrs. Eve was foolish, very,

Not to be well content and merry,

With peach, plum, melon, grape and cherry,

When apples were forbidden.

We love fair flowers—but suppose

We're far from Italy's rich rose,

Must we then turn up our nose

At ilies of the valley?

Can't we smut at something sweet,

In the 'bough-pots' that me meet,

Cried and sold in city street,

By 'Sally in our Alley'?

Give me the heart that spreads its wings,

Like the free bird that soars and sings,

And sees the bright side of all things,

From Bering's Straits to Dover.

It is a bank that never breaks,

It is a store thief never takes;

It is a rock that never shakes,

All the wide world over.

We like to give old care the slip,

And listen to the 'crank and quip,'

At social board from fluent lip.—

No fellowship is better.

But he must lack the gentle grace

That marks the best of human race,

Who cannot see a friendly face

In mastiff, hound or seiter.

Our hungry eyes may fondly wish

To revel amid flesh and fish,

And to gloat upon the silver dish

That holds a golden plover;

Yet if our table be not spread

With savory cheese and oaten bread,

Be thankful if we're always fed

As well, the wide world over.

NON-RESISTANCE.

Letter to Rev. Reuben Morey,
Pastor of the First Baptist Church in North Attleboro',
Mass.

REV. SIR:

You will remember that, at a recent temperance meeting in this town, at the conclusion of an address which you delivered, you labored to show that there existed no difference between the old temperance men and the Washingtonians. In that lecture, you were very careful to avoid saying a word in behalf of the Washingtonian movement, while every effort made by the old temperance men was extolled to the utmost. For one, I could not patiently sit, and have wrong impressions left upon the minds of the people in attendance, and therefore I arose to put the matter right; and I endeavored to show you, that the present division of temperance men existed of necessity, (a division which you despised, and considered unjustifiable)—that Washingtonians had separated from the old temperance movement, because they had not only the measures of those engaged in it, and therefore a union under present circumstances was impossible. And, sir, did I not speak justly? Under the old temperance dispensation, was not the strong arm of the law relied upon to suppress the evils of intemperance, while love and moral power were deemed the weaker weapons? Under the new dispensation, Washingtonians almost exclusively rely upon moral power, your assertion to the contrary notwithstanding. I alluded in my remarks to the numbers of non-resistants, who were active laborers in the temperance cause, and I knew that they could never consent to have the Washingtonian movement identified with the old temperance movement, so far as it was based upon physical force. This drew from you, in reply, a violent attack against the doctrine of non-resistance, as you remarks will show, a review of which was thought out of order, while it was decided by the chair that you were perfectly in order—that your remarks simply bore upon the use of physical means as employed in the temperance cause! But, after the reader has read this article, I will leave him to judge for himself, how far your remarks had any bearing upon the subject.

Cut off then from a full reply to your remarks, I invited you to a discussion of the subject, after the adjournment, that the same audience might hear both sides, which you declined. I then proposed a discussion upon the subject at some future time which you might appoint, which you were also pleased to decline. So, I am only left the alternative to address you thus publicly. But, sir, after you had declined the discussion, learn my surprise upon being told that you yesterday made an attack, in your pulpit, against the principles of non-resistants! Verily, how many make the pulpit a "coward's castle," to fight an enemy whom they dare not meet in open and fair combat! But, sir, only think of the idea of a professed christian minister, preaching against the doctrine which our Saviour taught, and which he exemplified from the manger at Bethlehem, to the cross upon Calvary! Verily, if Christ should again come upon the earth, he would not be tolerated in many of the pulpits, from which he is professed to be preached.

But enough of this. My object now is only to give you brief answers to the remarks which you made against the doctrine of non-resistance, and to show the reader how far those remarks had any bearing upon the temperance cause.

1. You remarked that non-resistants were opposed to all human governments. In reply to this charge, I will briefly say, that, with regard to the principles of non-resistance, I have had much opportunity of making myself acquainted. I have arrived at my views upon the subject, solely by reading the Bible. But, within a week or two, a friend has handed me some pamphlets which I have read, and, unless my understanding deceives me, you have brought a false charge against non-resistants; for you have said it was their object to *upturn all human governments*. True we may not be deceived upon this subject, permit me to introduce a passage from a speech made by Adin Ballou, before the first annual meeting of the Non-Resistance Society, held in Boston, Sept. 25th, 1839. He says—

"Is it our object to subvert human government—overthrow it—to turn it upside down? By no means. We utterly disclaim any such object. We are Jacobins, Revolutionists, or Anarchists; though often slanderously so denominated. And here I most emphatically deny that man, who is not depraved, is permitted to make some explanations, demanded by the public misapprehension of our real position and general movement. It seems to be taken for granted, that we have started a crusade to force the practice of non-resistance upon nations, states, bodies politic, and all existing organizations of human society; which is considered tantamount to an attempt for the violent subversion of human government. This is a very great mistake. We are not so insane as to imagine any such result practicable in the nature of things. We put our enterprise upon purely christian grounds, and depend for success wholly upon christian means. We have nothing to do with nations, states, and bodies politic, merely as such; for they have neither souls nor consciences. We address ourselves as to individuals, who have both soul and conscience, and expect to affect organized masses of men only through their individual members. And as to any kind of force, other than that of truth and love, sustained by a consistent example, as non-resistants we utterly eschew it, with respect to our moral agents, collectively and individually. We very well know that neither bodies nor consciences, all of which are of service to us, if we will keep them under subjection. Even the animal organs are of use to us when properly balanced; but when they are permitted to act unrestrained, they produce transgression. For instance: the proper use of the organ of Firmness, is to give us stability of character: when it is too large, it produces obstinacy. The proper use of Destructiveness is to give us a quick movement, an energy of character, &c.: but when it is too large, it produces a desire to destroy, to tyrannize, &c. The proper use of Amativeness is also known to you: but when it is too large, it produces licentiousness. For, sir, you may as well attempt to justify obstinacy and licentiousness, because their seeds are found in the human body, as to justify a spirit of retaliation.

5. Again. You say that "laws are made to protect the weak and defenceless—that we have the right conferred upon us to avenge ourselves, but that we convey that right to society when we organize human government." I know very well, sir, that such is the manner in which some people indulge; but I deny your ground-work. I deny that you ever had the right to take revenge yourself; and how can you convey to others that which does not belong to you? This is the way that slaveholders talk about their slaves as property. That they will lie down with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the serpent, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice's den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

4. You contended for the falsity of the principles of non-resistance, because you said "it is natural to fight—to defend ourselves." Well, Mr. Morey, we are bound to give you a hearing. Let us see what your argument amounts to. What do we understand by nature—or, in order to get your meaning, let us first inquire, what you understand by human nature? Why, you believe that human nature is totally depraved; that man, by nature, is not capable of doing a good deed, nor thinking a good thought. Well, now we understand you, I suppose. We will paraphrase your language: "It is natural for man (in his totally depraved state, where he can neither do a good deed, nor think a good thought) to fight," or to defend himself? That is your argument. We will let it stand as it is, if you are satisfied with it. But will ye tell us how far we are to follow the dictates of human nature. We are subject to the dictates of the mind and the lusts of the flesh. The latter we are to subdue, and we are to look to Christ to have all our powers and propensities to be brought under his control. That I may be better understood, I will speak phonologically. We have different organs, all of which are of service to us, if we will keep them under subjection. Even the animal organs are of use to us when properly balanced; but when they are permitted to act unrestrained, they produce transgression. For instance: the proper use of the organ of Firmness, is to give us stability of character: when it is too large, it produces obstinacy. The proper use of Destructiveness is to give us a quick movement, an energy of character, &c.: but when it is too large, it produces a desire to destroy, to tyrannize, &c. The proper use of Amativeness is also known to you: but when it is too large, it produces licentiousness. For, sir, you may as well attempt to justify obstinacy and licentiousness, because their seeds are found in the human body, as to justify a spirit of retaliation.

It was stated some time ago, in the papers, that Mr. Miller had given it as his opinion, that if the prophecy was not fulfilled, as expected last spring, it would occur soon after the autumnal equinox. Meanwhile, even the memory of this excitement seemed to have passed away from the ever-busy crowd. But with the autumnal equinox, it returned with renewed fervor. Mrs. Higgins, a young woman from Boston, I believe, is here preaching with that enthusiasm and earnestness of conviction, which always impresses a degree of eloquence. She and her zealous coadjutors are creating a prodigious ferment, and making many proselytes; all of whom are welcomed to their ranks as brands plucked from immediate burning.

A man who has lent an apple-stalk, near the Park, went to her, and straightway gave away all his fruits and cakes; for the great delight of the children, who became warmly interested to have this fair spread through all the cake shops and apple stalls. A vendor of stoves, near by, has shut up his shop, with the announcement that no more stoves will be needed on this earth. A shoemaker, in Division-street, began to give away all his stock; but his son came in during the process, and caused him to be sent to an insane asylum till the excitement of his mind abated. A shop in the Bowery mounted a placard, on which was inscribed in large letters, *MUSLIM FOR ASCENSION RODES!* I know not whether this was done for wagery, or from that spirit of trade, which is ever willing to turn a blind eye to war, pestilence, or conflagration.

6. In the sixth place, you asserted that "God has given man the right to take life." As you produced no proof, I have but little to say under this head. I wait for proof. But, oh! is it not heart-rending to see a christian minister contend for the right to kill his brother?

* Just Heaven